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was the first time that these savages had seen civilized people, or, to use the popular term, Christians. It was God's will that savages and Christians should fraternize. Alfredo became a friend of the Tapirapé and brought to Conceição a group consisting of an elderly woman, her granddaughter of 11 or 12, and a few men. During the trip the men ran away. The girl was provided with clothes when she reached the mission."

[13]

On October 9, 1912, the Rio newspaper O Paiz transcribed from the fortnightly Goiás paper O Estado de Goiaz of September 15 of the same year an article entitled "Proteção aos Índios [Indian Protection Service]," according to which Dr. Francisco Mandacari had visited a Tapirapé village located six and three-quarters leagues from the river of the same name and had returned "a Tapirapé woman and her son of 12" whom he had "rescued" in Conceição, where they were "enslaved" (Kissenerth 2, 36, 43). They were probably the grandmother and granddaughter brought by Mr. Alfredo and mentioned in the report of the Dominicans quoted above.

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Speaking of the tribes of the Araguaia, Glass (139) says that in 1913, "the Government Inspector of the Indians of this region ascended the Tapirapé River and discovered about 1000 or 1500 of this tribe still existing, but living forty miles away from the river for fear of the Carajás. He estimates that the Carajás, Tapirapés, Javahés, Cherentes [Sherente], Chavantes, and one or two other tribes around that district, number over 20,000 Indians" [cited in English].

In June, 1914, the French Dominicans, Domingos Carrerot, Sebastião Thomas, and Francisco Bigorre, visited the Tapirapé village located 50 kilometers from the river. They were led by the Indian Valadar, the son of a Karajá father and a Tapirapé mother. This guide had participated in Mr. Alfredo's expedition.

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Ten years later, according to the Mensageiro do Santo Ronario of April, 1934, page 207, the "regular catechization" of the [99:74] Tapirapé by the Dominicans had a "definitive start." That means that the Fathers of Conceição do Araguaia have ascended the Tapirapé River to the port of São Domingos every two years or so since 1924, awaiting there the arrival of the Indians, alerted to their presence by the smoke rising from burned grassland. Sometimes they proceed on foot to the summer dwellings

64 apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season
73 that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout
[165] the tribe, also killing Ikaranchó and his wife. Then the separa-
[166] tists returned to Tampitsua.

361 The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points
out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages
of the Tapirapé people]. " In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de
Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as
follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy
three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the
riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not
visit the third one."

[113] The following appears in the account of the Dominican ex-
pedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317):
[481] "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [vil-
lages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilo-
meters a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by
[592] such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts,
each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the
[609] Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and famili-
[61] es urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The peo-
ple we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily
be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a
thousand members."

621 [103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco
Mandacari's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by
[161] this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invari-
ably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family."
The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissen-
berth 2, 43-44).

[161] The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector
of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some
1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glam, 139).

[161] Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in
Tampitsua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants.
These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in Septem-
ber, but were together again when we visited them the following
year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy
[165] season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen
by this missionary.

621 by this missionary. There was at the time only one couple with
[163] three children, while other couples with progeny only had one or
two. When Mr. Kegel was in Tampititua in 1934, after the de-
parture of the oft-mentioned "20" who had not yet returned in
1935, he only saw seven houses with 113 occupants. It is to be
•[161] assumed that a few additional families were absent during the
missionary's visit that year, for in 1935 I counted 130 Tapirapé.
They were living in the seven houses seen by Mr. Kegel the
[312] previous year, and also in the so-called takana [men's house] and
in another hut (marked with the letter g on the ground plan of the
village) which was not as finished as the others. The distribution
of those 130 individuals among the houses is indicated on the
ground plan of the village (Fig. 8).

621 The following table shows the ratios by age, sex, marital
status, and progeny. [Table appears here.]

[103:187] It is apparent, therefore, that at the time of this
census, made in 1935, there were 70 married individuals and 60
unmarried ones in Tampititua.

The 38 men between the ages of 18 and 45 included the
fathers of 20 children. The 26 women between the ages of 21 and
60 included the mothers of 32 children. These 64 men and women,
therefore, included the fathers and mothers of 52 children.

[597] These 52 children do not include those who were cited as
stepchildren or adopted offspring. It is possible, furthermore,
that they may include step- or adopted children who were not
cited as such. In this case, the number of children with a living
father or mother, which is already relatively small, would be
even smaller.

Among the couples who had issue from their current mar-
riages, there was one with three children, two with two, and five
with one child each.

There was a 45-year-old grandfather with a three-year-old
granddaughter, and a grandmother of 60 with a granddaughter who
was also three. A man of 33 said that he was the grandfather of a
girl of five who had neither father nor mother. He may have been
the brother of the girl's grandfather.

No less striking than the above figures are the following.

In the age group ranging from less than one year to 14, there
were 28 males and 29 females, that is to say, 56 individuals of both
sexes.

[Text continues on p. 40]

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[21] underline more clearly the importance of these men.

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166 The village abandoned in 1932 was called Moytíua, a word made up of moyva, "cane," and tíua, "village." The other three extinct villages were called (1) Kuruntíua, from kuruf or loruf "squash" (Brazilian Cucurbitacea), which remained in the Brazilian vernacular as cruf [Tr., Sicana odorifera]; (2) Mankotíua, from Manko, the name of a Karajá who was the village chief; and (3) Chechotíua, chechó probably being jejá (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatu), a fish akin to the traíra [Tr., Amazon lungfish], or else a contraction of chechoó, "big chechó," that is to say, the piracurá (Arapaima gigas). It may be that Chechotíua was the "Chichutíua" Wagley heard about, and that the Tampiitíua emigrants [103:189] moved to the site of the former village of this name on account of the food plants which undoubtedly still grew in the surrounding plots.

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96/ Tampiitíua, the "village of the tapir," no longer stands where it was at the time of my visit. It was moved farther from the river. This represents a move away from the Whites and, to some extent, "toward the Kayapó." Such a move appears to me as a "healthy policy." There were, and continue to be, attempts to relocate the Tapirapé at a "Protective Post" located near the Araguaia. The immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful
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• [161] Tupí tribe, whose numbers, as I write this (1944), probably do not reach 150. [Ed., end of Vol. 103; the section in Vol. 104, pp. 93-100, is omitted.]

[105:77]

Chapter 6

Physical Appearance and Ornamentation

142 Coming from the Karajá to the Tapirapé, one immediately notices that the latter, on the average, are much shorter and less sturdy, especially shorter than the Karajá I saw in Santa Isabel, and less sturdy than the inhabitants of Bercoromandú and other villages located north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River. Fritz

Tapirape River. They have had only sporadic contact with Europeans. About 1900, the first Brazilians visited them in their village, and, each July or August since 1914, the Dominican priests meet them at a port on the Tapirape River and bring them presents—axes, hoes, salt, etc. Between 1900 and 1935, a Scotch Protestant missionary made three trips to the village, staying there two to three months at a stretch. During the dry season, the Tapirape regularly go down to the river for fishing and collecting turtle eggs and to wait in hope that the Dominican priests will come with a new supply of presents. There they sometimes meet trappers and hunters, and occasionally a Brazilian hunter will make the long trip to their village as an adventure, or—rarely—a Tapirape will go back with a missionary or hunter to the Araguaya—some 200 miles away—and return to the village loaded with presents and tall stories. These few contacts, the only ones which these people have had with Europeans, have nevertheless affected the Tapirape culture profoundly and in many ways. For lack of time, however, I shall describe only the effects resulting from the introduction of foreign diseases, which even antedated European contact, and the consequent wiping out of the great part of the Tapirape population.

In the memory of one Tapirape informant, there were five villages (about 1900), each of which must have contained well over two hundred people. The introduction of smallpox about 1899 caused one village to disband, since most of the inhabitants had died. About 1900, another European disease, probably influenza, caused a second village to break up through loss of people. Yellow fever must have taken its toll among the Tapirape at various times, as it did among the neighboring Caraja Indians, and, in 1920, the world-wide influenza epidemic came belatedly to the Araguaya and on to the Tapirape. In 1932, the survivors of a third village, depopulated by disease, joined the most southern village, Tampitawa, and, during my residence there in 1939, the survivors of a fourth village joined us. As a result of this wholesale depopulation from disease, there remained only one village

* Probably through the Caraja.

and only 147 inhabitants. This is an extraordinary example of the ravages of European diseases among a native American people.

Tampitawa (Village of the Tapir) is composed, therefore, of a residue from all of the five original villages. All of the customs and ceremony attached to inter-village relations have of course disappeared. People remember their former village affiliation, or that of their parents. They still speak of a person as being "the son of Fish Village," but village loyalty, once strong, has disappeared. Formerly, villages were basically endogamous, but some marriages outside of the village did take place. Today, only three people can say that they are descendants of people from Tapir Village. Ancient inter-village antagonism existed, especially between Tapir and the village which joined with it in 1900. Today, this conflict is only remembered under the stress of some quarrel and is referred to only as a *taunt*.

Depopulation has had little effect on the economic life of the Tapirapé. They are basically a forest agricultural people with large plantations. Manioc is their staple. Plantations are large enough, and the economic organization fluid enough, to allow for the support of large numbers of refugees for a year or so until they can make gardens for themselves. Refugees have joined one of the large households, at present eight, each with some twenty-five to thirty people. Formerly these households were matrilineal groups headed by a man of high prestige. His wife's relatives formed the matrilineal group and he demanded labor from his numerous sons-in-law (husbands of daughters of wife, including extended "daughters"). The coming of refugees disrupted these matrilineal households. If a refugee woman lacked a close female kin, her husband often arranged for habitation with a friend or a relative of his. Men of high status offered the hospitality of their houses to incoming men of rank. Today, therefore, many reassemblies of relatives live under one roof, and two and even three separate groups of female relatives live under as many older men, whereas formerly they would have formed one household under the leadership of one household head. In no case, does a man control a complete household as he would have done under the old system.

The men's societies form the basis for Tapirapé ceremonial and for cooperative gardening and hunting. Each moiety is divided into three age grades. Thus, in the village, there are two groups of "boys" and "youths" (up to sixteen years of age), two groups of mature men or "warriors" (up to approximately 45), and two groups of "older men." Really old and inactive men give up moiety activity and have no affiliation. A boy belongs automatically to the moiety of his father and formerly he progressed through the three age grades of that moiety. All ceremonies involve the moiety age grades, which dance against each other, race against each other, and give reciprocal feast exchanges. Cooperative hunts and clearing of the forest likewise involve reciprocal activities. However, with the great loss of population, and especially a loss of men of the oldest age group, this organization was thrown out of balance. In order to continue ceremonial life, several youths, who were spoken of as "lazy" and who were not capable hunters or workers, passed into the "older men's" age groups, in which there is little active cooperative hunting and gardening, in order to give those groups sufficient numbers for ceremonial activity. This rapid passing from boys' age grade to that of older men has influenced native thought in two ways:—First, young men are losing the idea of automatic progression through the three age grades, and there is a tendency now to think that the better young men become "warriors," while less capable ones pass rapidly to the older men's group. Second, the older men's age grades, formerly the groups of highest prestige, tend to be looked on with little favor, and only those individuals are thought of with respect who have status for other reasons.

Depopulation has also affected the second Tapirapé social grouping—the feast groups. These are made up of all men and women. They are matrilineal for women and patrilineal for men. These feast groups meet periodically during the dry season for ceremonial meals. At present, three of the original ten feast groups have disappeared because of lack of members.

Chieftainship has changed under the influence of both depopulation and the sporadic contacts with Brazilians. All men of

status are, today, called "capitane" (The Tapirapé use the Portuguese word. There is no equivalent in their language.) These "capitane" are village elders (who were village "favorite children" in their youth, and therefore people of prestige), leaders of the warriors, age grades, and able shamans. Formerly, there were only two village elders, two warrior leaders, and, ideally, two favorite children in a village. Today, with congregation of people from all villages in one, several "noble" families are present and there is an oversupply of "capitane."

Marriage arrangements, too, have been affected by depopulation. At present, there are some ten men of marriageable age, for whom there are no possible wives, and immediate families are so broken up that there are no possible groups of women to care for these unattached men. A man must have a wife to cook for him and perform women's tasks. To do any woman's work would play complete havoc with a man's personal prestige, which is a matter of greatest importance. Most of these Tapirapé men have solved their problem by contracting convenient "social" marriages with extremely young girls. They attach themselves to a household, in which they perform a man's customary economic duties, and, in turn, their mothers-in-law do women's work for them.

Lack of time prevents mention of many other aspects of native life pertaining to marriage, kinship, and leadership, which have been profoundly affected by depopulation. Possibly, in other cultures, the effects of introduced disease have not been quite so disastrous, nor the loss of people so important to the social life, as in the case of the Tapirapé. Without a doubt, however, wherever there have been sporadic contacts with Europeans, these or other alien factors have been introduced and have caused important changes in the structure of native life.

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TAPIRAPÉ SOCIAL AND CULTURE CHANGE 1940-1953

by

CHARLES WAGLEY

The Tapirapé are a Tupi-speaking tribe whose aboriginal habitat lay between the Araguaya and Xingu rivers in central Brazil. Tapirapé society and culture, as it existed before 1940, has been described by Herbert Baldus and the present author in a series of articles and monographs.¹ In 1940, when I left the Tapirapé village after approximately eighteen months of residence and research, I was convinced that Tapirapé society was rapidly disintegrating and that it would soon cease to exist as a distinct organized unit. At that time, although Tapirapé culture was essentially unchanged from its aboriginal condition, severe depopulation had so disrupted the social structure that the society seemed no longer to satisfy the minimal conditions for group survival.² A mere 147 individuals grouped in but one village were all that remained in 1940 of this tribe that once had numbered at least one thousand people living in five large villages. In 1953, when I returned for a short visit of three weeks with the Tapirapé Indians in their new village at the mouth of the Tapirapé River on the Araguaya, I found but 81 individuals. The rapid process of depopulation

1. Cf. Herbert Baldus, *Estudos de Etnologia Brasileira*, São Paulo, 1937, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo Tupi no Brasil Central," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, Vol. XLV-LV, CVII-CXXVII, São Paulo, 1946-50; and Charles Wagley, "Tapirapé Civilization," *Bollettino del Museo Nazionale, Antropologia*, N.º 3, Rio, 1953.

2. Charles Wagley, "The Effects of Depopulation upon Social Organization as Illustrated by the Tapirapé Indians," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Series II, Vol. 3, N.º 1, pp. 12-16, New York, 1949.

- 161 had continued during the last thirteen years. Yet I found
 179 that even with so small a population Tapirapé society
 still functioned as an organized unit and Tapirapé culture
 persisted, although highly modified by the events of the
 last thirteen years. Several points of theoretical impor-
 tance can be learned from recent Tapirapé history and
 from some observations on social and cultural changes
 since 1940.

- 175 The sketchy outline of Tapirapé history between
 [127] 1940 and 1953, which I have been able to piece together
 with the help of the Indians themselves, of Sr. Valentim
 Gomes (the officer of the post of the Brazilian Indian
 Service which services the Tapirapé, and my companion
 during both visits to the tribe in 1939-40), and of a pub-
 lished report by Herbert Baldus,² indicates the tre-
 mendous shocks this society has suffered in the last decade.
 Briefly, this history is as follows: In 1941, just a year
 after my 1940 visit, a serious epidemic broke out in the
 Tapirapé village in which I had lived. As usual, following
 [731] an epidemic during which there is a series of deaths,
 579] dissension broke out within the village. A well-known
 shaman was killed and a group of Tapirapé ("perhaps
 thirty in number") fled the village to the Brazilian town
 of Furo de Pedra, some two hundred kilometers from
 their village. It is reported that at least two people died
 during this trip and that the group returned to their
 village infected with common colds. By August of 1940,
 Sr. Gomes was able to ascertain that twenty-six people
 had died since June of the same year. In September of
 1941 an Indian Post for the protection of the Tapirapé
 was opened, but it was established at the mouth of the
 Tapirapé River, near the Carajá whom the Tapirapé
 feared and near Brazilians from whom they contracted
 new infections. That year, a few Indians visited the
 Post but after the death of a young Tapirapé man at
 the Post and an unfortunate experience with a group
 of drunken Brazilian men, only rarely did a Tapirapé

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2. "Trilhon da Ilha do Araguaia e o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios", in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, N. 8, Vol. II, São Paulo, 1948, pp. 127-128.

INTRODUCTION

The Tapirape Indians are a Tupi-speaking tribe living in Central Brazil west of the Araguaya River. Their villages formerly extended some two hundred miles to the north of the Tapirape River, an affluent of the Araguaya; but today their one remaining village lies west of the Araguaya, about forty miles north of the Tapirape and 160 miles from the point of union of the two rivers. This settlement contains a total population that does not exceed 150 people, the residue of five villages that probably existed as late as the turn of the century and that are said to have had a population of about two hundred people each. A progressive population decline has followed the acquiring of diseases from contact with the neighboring Carajá Indians of the Araguaya River and from European visitors. Such contacts, however, have left their aboriginal culture little changed.

The Tapirape are properly a forest people, maintaining an agricultural life on clearings bowed from the great tropical forest. Their cultivated fields are large producing manioc (both *Manihot manihot* and the sweet species *Manihot palmata* Agg.), maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, yams, bark (*Dioscorea* sp.), cotton, and bananas.

The dry months of June through September of each year are devoted to clearing the garden sites. This work is done by men, frequently working individually, sometimes in communal labor formed by the men's equality groups (1). When the clearing is done collectively, the large field is divided into individual plots which become individual property;

(1) There is an excellent description of the communal activity called *apané* by the Tapirape in Herbert Rolden, 1937, "Os grupos de nome e os grupos de trabalho dos Tapirape", in *Estudos de Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 96-111, São Paulo.

[p. 61]

[p. 60 blank]

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The eight living men (marabunbassas or "killers") who had killed people attest to the frequency of revenge killing of shamans because of suspected sorcery. Within the memory of one informant, Kanarik, who was approximately forty years old, ten shamans had been killed (14). During his youth he had killed a shaman, Pauradei, because he believed him responsible for his younger brother's death. Going to the shaman's house the second night after his brother's death, Kanarik found the shaman asleep and killed him with several arrows through the abdomen. According to various informants, the epidemic of deaths that had been occurring then came to a halt, thus proving Pauradei's guilt. In another case the killer hid in the forest and shot the suspected shaman as he passed on his way to his garden; still another shaman was clubbed to death as he sat with his family in the village plaza. Two living "killers" had murdered women shamans by clubbing them to death. Kaka-naké (kaké, woman; naké, shaman) generally die by violence, according to informants: women shamans "are dangerous". They dream more than men (shamans) and they kill many Tapirape [in dreams]", said one man. Ironically, all three of the more powerful shamans living today, at least two of whom are currently in danger because they are considered powerful enough to be suspected of "evil dreaming", murdered shamans during their youth (15).

Informants could not remember any one occasion when a shaman was murdered was avenged by his relatives; yet informants did say that a shaman with several adult brothers — true siblings — strong enough

(16) The span of this man's life has seen the tremendous depopulation of the Tapirape from inland districts; that it represents an abnormal period with more than the usual number of deaths and, perhaps, therefore, an unusual number of revenge murders of shamans.

(17) As I wrote this paper, a letter comes from Valentim Gomes, my guide, and companion during both trips to the Tapirape. I quote to part this letter translated from Portuguese: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirape on the twenty-sixth of July [1941]. They were all in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yuca, peanuts, etc. — There were few bananas".

"But I am sorry to say that after we left them [in May, 1941] twenty-one adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Camplaké, the first informant in the village. Also Urakutu had been killed by the young Tapirape I called Amama". (During my stay the Tapirape had several times spoken of the necessity of baptizing Urakutu and several had professed that it would occur).

[121] [122] [137] Having been invited by Dr. Modesto Donatini Dias da Cruz, Director of the Indian Service, to represent the São Paulo Museum and the Free School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo on the team he organized to inspect the Indian posts and to explore certain areas of central Brazil, I imparted to him in a report dated October 31, 1947, the observations made in the course of the journey carried out during the months of June, July, and August of the same year, as well as a few suggestions on the matter. The following pages are a reproduction of this report with a few modifications and additions.

I. The Tapirapé

[162] [62] On July 19, 1947, we counted 62 inhabitants in the Tapirapé village of Tampitufua, 30 of whom were subjected to a medical examination by my traveling companion, Dr. Haroldo Cândido de Oliveira. The following table provides the age and sex ratios:

	Male	Female	Total
5 years and under	5	3	8
from 6 to 15 years	7	3	10
from 16 to 30 years	14	17	31
over 30 years old	6	4	10
Total	32	27	59

It is to be assumed that the three who evaded the examination were boys. In addition, we found at Fôrto Velho a Tapirapé woman over 30 years old who was living among the frontier people.

In 1935, Tampitufua had 130 inhabitants, 69 of them male and 61 female.

[166] [16] It should be mentioned that since that time certain individuals have emigrated to Taitxufua, another Tapirapé village located quite a distance away. Their number, however, seems to be inferior to that of persons who have moved from there to Tampitufua. According to various [138] reports, Taitxufua is much smaller than this village, so that today the entire Tapirapé tribe probably does not exceed 100 members.

177 are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural
29/ rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all
Tampitiusa women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of
the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some
of them are completely clothed.

177 It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapó are actually
262 experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new
neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number
• [61] of Tampitiusa inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in
the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [130]
were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapó only eat small fish,
they can no longer eat tucumaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle
eggs."

These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontier-
men, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein
and fat. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the
[261] dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the
human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse
in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the
[136] frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along
the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to
deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at
certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampitiusa has
[361] been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to
prove that the Tapirapó felt threatened by the proximity of the White
settlers.

311 When I ascended the length of the Tapirapó River in a canoe in
1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant
at the river mouth, and he named, so to speak, the most advanced
648 post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in
Flevo Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the
navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly
all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived
previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands,
began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the
processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the
colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPÉ INDIANS

By CHARLES WAGLEY

101 The Tapirapé live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a
 [131] western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people
 [147] isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they
 are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to
 those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom
 they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors,
 the Gêbo-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Caraiá (including the Javahé
 branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring
 [149] peoples, the Tapirapé have withdrawn further from the Araguaya and
 have contacts at present with the Caraiá only through occasional European
 visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from
 the Caraiá, have reduced the Tapirapé from five large villages (originally
 more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Con-
 [177] tacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirapé
 aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirapé tradition, they came to their present home from
 173 the north and east.¹ One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a
 223 time shared a common village with the Javahé branch of the Caraiá. The
 Tapirapé are traditionally oriented in country to the east, not to the west.
 [172] It is to the east that Maracá, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this
 direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wapichira, a con-
 ceptualistic tribe which are a far-off mythical ancestor of the Tapirapé, and
 the "other Tapirapé," speaking the same language and sharing the same
 culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river
 and great mountains where various supernatural live.

Formerly, Tapirapé who were captives of the Caraiá returned to tell of
 649 that country and people, and in modern times Tapirapé have visited both
 Caraiá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Ara-
 guaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering west-
 [184] ward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of
 little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the
 223 Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

¹ According to Wilson, the Tapirapé were known to have been on the Araguaya as early
 114 as the 16th century. He believes the Tapirapé to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably
 174 from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoures. Certainly they came from the east, but
 any material points to a migration into the northwest rather than from the southeast, as would
 be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Wilson, Alfred, *Migrações In-
 dianas do Tapirapé*, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, N.S. 25, 25
 1935.

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contact and to reduce, or which led to quasi — or total extinction of a people may also be found in the culture and the society of peoples concerned. Each culture has a population policy — — — an implicit or explicit set of cultural values relating to population size. The social structure of each society is closely inter-related with a specific population level. A modification of the external environment, such as that brought about by contact with Europeans, generally calls for change both in cultural values as well as in social structure. In addition to environment, technology, and other material factors, cultural values and social structure act also to determine population size and demographic trends in face of modified external circumstances. A rapid decrease in population due to new disease or an increase in population resulting from an increased food supply calls for adjustments in population policy (implicit or explicit) and in social structure. It is the purpose of the present paper to examine the relationship between these social and cultural factors and the population trends following European contact of two Tupi speaking tribes of Brazil.

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The two Tupi speaking tribes in question are the Tenselchana of northeastern Brazil and the Tapirapé of central Brazil. (2) After more than 300 years of contact with Low-Brazilians the Tenselchana in 1945 still numbered some 3000 people — — — not much less, if at all, than the aboriginal population. On the other hand, by 1947 the Tapirapé with less than forty years of sporadic and peaceful contact with Low-Brazilians had been reduced to less than one hundred people, the remnant of an aboriginal population which must have numbered more than one thousand. While the Tenselchana still maintained a functioning social system and continued as a distinct ethnic group, Tapirapé society was in 1947 almost totally disorganized and the Tapirapé as a distinct people were clearly on the road to extinction. (3)

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A partial answer to this very different reaction to Low-Brazilian contact may be found in the nature of the acculturation process which each has experienced. Although the first decades of Tenselchana relations with Europeans were marked by slave raids, massacres, and epidemics, the protection of the Jesuits during more than one century (1653-1720) seems to have given the Tenselchana time to make adjustments in their culture and society to changing external circumstances. The missionaries were able to prevent the movement of colonies into Tenselchana territory, and after the expulsion

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(2) Both descriptions of the Tapirapé and the Tenselchana have been published elsewhere: (1) Wagley and Galsbol, 1948 A, 1948 B, and 1948, Bulletin, 1951, 1949-1950, 1949 A, 1949 B, etc. Only directly pertinent descriptive data is given in this report.

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(3) Cf. Wagley (1948) and Bulletin (1948 vol. 102, 1948 B, 1948 B), for discussion of Tapirapé disorganization and disorganization. Bulletin (1948 B) pp. 125-126, who found the village called Tapirapé inhabited by 120 individuals in 1946, and only 40 in 1947, mentions that during this time of time several individuals had migrated to another Tapirapé village very far from Tapirapé. But that their number seems to be lower than the number of those who came from there to Tapirapé. According to information received by this author, the other village is another than Tapirapé, so that in 1947 the village which probably contained less than a hundred persons. In 1948 some from, shortly after Bulletin (1948), the Tapirapé were attacked by Karipú Indians and lost several individuals.

of the Jesuits in 1728, the increased importation of African slaves into Maranhão eased the pressure for Indian slaves. Close relations with the missionaries, and later with the civil authorities and the rural Luso-Brazilian population, presented the Tenatchara with new culture patterns, new attitudes which either replaced aboriginal elements or were incorporated in their culture as alternative patterns. The missionaries urged larger families in order to have numerous innocents to baptize. Warfare was prohibited in the area. (4) The Tenatchara learned that children might be useful in collecting balsam roots for sale to Luso-Brazilians. Such instruments and new plants (such as rice, bananas, lemons, etc.) made agriculture more productive. The sale of balsam roots, capoeira oil, and other forest products brought the Tenatchara imported products. Although Tenatchara culture and society were modified, the aboriginal and the borrowed elements closely combined to form a new culture and a new social system which at least met the minimum requirements for survival.

The Tapirapé, on the other hand, have had only intermittent contact with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911, the Tapirapé have had occasional contact with Luso-Brazilians. A few Tapirapé have visited Luso-Brazilian settlements and missionary stations on the Araguaia River and a few Luso-Brazilians have visited Tapirapé villages. Tapirapé contact with Luso-Brazilians has been limited to relatively short periods and to small groups of people. They have acquired a few corn, bean, some salt, cloth, beads, and other material objects from their occasional visitors but, on the whole, their culture was little modified by borrowed patterns and elements from Luso-Brazilians. Yet the presence of Luso-Brazilians brought about a crucial modification in their environment. With the arrival of Luso-Brazilians in the area, the Tapirapé were subjected to a series of foreign diseases. If the memory of older Tapirapé informants may be trusted, foreign diseases (malaria, smallpox, measles, and amebic dysentery) came at first via the neighboring Karipá sometime before their first meeting with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911 to 1914, however, foreign diseases acquired directly from Luso-Brazilians, has steadily decimated the Tapirapé. Unlike the Tenatchara, before the Tapirapé were presented with a broad segment of Luso-Brazilian culture, which might have provided them with alternative patterns and values with which they might have made adjustments to their new circumstances, they have been practically wiped out.

Still, the difference in population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact of these two tribes cannot be explained entirely in terms of the difference in the contact continuum. The first fifty years of contact between the Tenatchara and Europeans was more violent than anything the Tapirapé have experienced. In the early 17th century organized slave raiding parties penetrated into Tenatchara territory and armed forces such as the one led

(4) There are no indications that the Tenatchara shared the early-mid-17th century period of the Tapirapé, but the lower reaches of the Maranhão-Paraná River system and the Island of Maranhão at its mouth were inhabited by Tapirapé groups. Ribeiro (1948, p. 46 ff. for the São Francisco (1740).

by Santo Mental Parente in 1916 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapá. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the different of these societies to Euro-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapá have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupi speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturalists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapá villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapá had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem, the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapá neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Tobikin neighbors of the Tenetehara were nomadic people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribes. Yet while the Tapirapá tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapá population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in preferences to land families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

Ta
262 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my
Te impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenechahara
262 villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch.
169 The Tenechahara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapá, do
not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size.
Ta Population control among the Tapirapá seems to result from a direct
169 limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In
193 other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapá has a basis in
262 subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family
limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the
organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapá culture as particu-
larly desirable.

Ta This population policy of the Tapirapá with its explicit concept of
Ta maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of
161 children must have maintained Tapirapá population in aboriginal times on
168 a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining
182 population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-
[165] rate from new diseases for which they did not have an acquired immunity,
this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian
contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapá concepts of population
limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and fami-
lies were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid
population policy of the Tenechahara was conducive to a large population
during aboriginal times and it made the Tenechahara less vulnerable than
the Tapirapá to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt
numerous Tenechahara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery
after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must
have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers
to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were
Ta also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as popula-
Ta tion trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon
396 least temporary multigenerational residence and a widely extended bilateral kin
391 group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapá and the Tenechahara
612 in aboriginal times. Tenechahara social structure was in fact limited to the
extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapá, on the other
Ta hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tene-
616 chahara society. First, there were partitioned ceremonial societies limited to
961 men. Each society was divided into three age grades -- boys, young men
or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the To-
Ta pirapá belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogenous.
396 Membership in these "Feast Groups" was partitioned for men and restricted
391 for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desir-
Ta es of a parent. Both Tapirapá men's societies and age grades and the
[165] "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonial and important in economic
production and distribution. The marked divorce with impermanence of

forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season was a function of the men's moieties. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry season at their traditional stations in the central place for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's moieties also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence activities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to ensure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's moieties as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded moieties to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their technological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tentative had villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tentative society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tentative social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of members.

of numbers. Ceremonials in 1940 had not been abandoned but they were performed in an attenuated and disordered manner. There was little motivation to accumulate the meat, the forest fruits, and the garden products which important ceremonials require among the Tapirapá.

Ceremonials and cooperative economic activities in Tenashore society are organized by extended family and kin groups. Lack of numbers, of course, creates difficulties in carrying out ceremonials and in organizing economic activities but it does not have the effect of disorganizing the society. Cooperation of large extended families in gardening and in collecting babassu nuts and copalite oil is still the general pattern among the Tenashore. Tenashore social structure was susceptible to change. Adjustment to new circumstances after Luso-Brazilian contact must have been easier for the Tenashore than for the Tapirapá.

The brief comparison of the cultural values and of those aspects of social structure of the Tenashore and of the Tapirapá in terms of their effect upon population size and on population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact suggest several general hypotheses. First, the available information concerning the population size of these two tribes in aboriginal times indicates that the Tenashore were much more numerous than the Tapirapá. Yet both tribes were tropical forest peoples with roughly similar technological equipment. It seems to the writer that this difference in population size between the two tribes was functionally related to ideological values and to social structure and not to differences in technology and environment. In other words, such differences in population can hardly be interpreted strictly in Malthusian terms. While population potentials are certainly limited by food supply, the level of technology, the application of medical knowledge, and other material factors, social institutions and culturally derived values are influential in determining trends in population size within the limits set by such "natural" factors.

Second, the social structure and the cultural values of any society are functionally related to a given population level. With change in population size, both the cultural values regarding population size and social structure must be adjusted. The Tapirapá concept of family size remained unchanged in face of modified conditions (i.e., higher death-rates caused by foreign diseases with the result that the adult population was no longer replaced by births. A rapidly declining population disrupted Tapirapá socio-economic organization and affected the internal system of production and distribution. The Tenashore with a more adaptable social structure than that of the Tapirapá were able to survive the initial impact of Luso-Brazilian contact until the penetration of the Jesuits allowed them to make necessary adjustments to the new circumstances.

Finally, the comparison between the Tapirapá and the Tenashore calls to mind other primitive societies whose social structure must have been functionally related to population level and to demographic trends in face of European civilization. In Brazil, the Bushanikwara (Bororo Tapanai) with their complex society system and the Aikarak with their like marriage

claim, to mention only two examples, had social systems comparable to that of the Tapirapé. Such social structures depended upon a balanced representation of population in each of the numerous social units. A sudden decline of population might easily throw such highly segmented societies out of balance, so to speak. Without sufficient representation in one or more of these social units reciprocal socio-ceremonial affairs become impossible or may be carried out in a highly attenuated manner. Again, the social structure of the Karipó of the Araguaya River is based essentially upon extended family and kinship ties and lacks the highly segmented social units which cross cut villages and even family groups. Like that of the Tsimbiana, Karipó social structure would seem to be less vulnerable to change in population size and more conducive to population growth. In addition to technological equipment and subsistence methods, social structure and cultural values also influence strongly the final adjustment of each society to its environment. Differences in social structure and of value systems between societies must be taken into account in studies of population size and of population trends in any natural area, such as the Tropical forest of South America.

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NOTES

© autor compare a região dos Tsimbiana e Tapirapé no contexto com as
Sociedades em que ele registra os desenvolvimentos da população e a organização social.
Enquanto o primeiro desses tribos temores dos outros tribos do Brasil, depois
de mais de trinta anos de tal contato, com um número de componentes
gradualmente para inferior ao de antes, tornando-se em função sua organização
social, os Tapirapé se encontram em via de extinção física e demográfica social.
O autor afirma que, por um lado, a tecnologia desses tribos e seus métodos de
caça e de caça de animais devem ter limitado o número de habitantes de cada aldeia,
não sendo possível, por outro lado, falta de espaço territorial para limitar o número
das aldeias. Portanto que, originalmente, a população tapirapé era relativamente
pequena e isolada, ao passo que a dos Tsimbiana era, pelo menos, a de um
grupo e, provavelmente, superior, fosse através, ao geral, não possuem métodos
e técnicas de caça e modo dos Tapirapé entre os quais a maior não deve
ter mais de três tribos. Embora os Tapirapé tenham sido limitados com falta
de alimentos, não desistiu e registo possuem as várias formas culturais. O
autor procura mostrar a influência das instituições e valores culturais sobre o
tamanho das populações dentro das fronteiras pelas formas diferentes, pelo
comportamento racial, pelo equipamento utilizado e por outras formas materiais.
Falta que a estrutura social e os valores culturais de cada sociedade são fatores
essenciais relacionados com desenvolvimento tamanho da população, variando as
condições, por fim, em caso de mudanças de situação demográfica.

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THE TAPIRAPÉ

By CHARLES WAGLEY AND EDUARDO GALVÃO

INTRODUCTION

Inland from other *Tapé-Guarani*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Jarahí Rivers with the *Corajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, No. 1; see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Coyatá* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Coyatá*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratory diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Non-Brazilians or from the *Corajá*, who are continually in contact with Non-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Corajá* and *Coyatá*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Non-Brazilians. Except for the devastating effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Non-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1889, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Sefor Martens, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dutchman priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that time on, the Dutchmen returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 2 or 3 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1924, a Protestant missionary, Friedrich Kluge, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Schilder, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939-40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite ^{A son} child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated ⁵⁵⁴ and during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. ⁵⁵⁸ Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life.

Puberty.—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepucis over ⁸⁶² the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body ¹⁰² is painted black with guipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip ¹⁰⁰ plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong.

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied ¹⁰² at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation ¹⁰¹ for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers ¹⁰² set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, top, left). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of extensive decoration to prove his endurance.

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced ¹⁰² with guipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of ⁵⁰² women. ⁵⁰²

Marriage.—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village parochism exist only in the memory of older people. ⁶²¹ ⁵⁷¹ ⁵¹² ⁵⁷¹

Men marry immediately after the initiation rite, and the women, ⁵⁰² least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close consanguinity, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule.

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage ⁶¹ rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there ⁵² are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are ¹⁷³ also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where ⁵⁹ his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him.

Charles Wagley

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To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *indetraká*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

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In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

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In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

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221 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns
 226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous clips, they
 (153) fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel
 from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only
 a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was
 apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they
 fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16
 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
 (207) from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the
 two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village
 to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot
 annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out:
 perhaps they went across the Tapirape to the south. In any case
 a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from
 the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

• 161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
 (153) houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
 (253) quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place
 and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down
 with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
 (513) conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
 352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net
 coverings that the Koro people buy from them, and then by the com-
 plete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which
 was certainly used for many days.

241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Koro),
 these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
 231 charred cobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals
 they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
 224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
 (132) hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in
 wild pigs. Certainly they will not forego these sources of meat.

206 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through
 poisoning the /408/ /111. 217 appears here / 408/ water of
 blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the
 territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that
 we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

[Text continues on p. 344]